

No. 26 June 29, 1981.

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- The Fight Against Pollution
- Biggest Chinese Ship Locks in Operation
- Iranian Shakeup
- Subject Index (Nos. 1-26)



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Socialism: Theory and Practice

The Vice-President of the Central Committee Party School outlines the principles and policies adopted since the end of 1978 to develop socialism in China according to the country's unique conditions. The third and final instalment of an important policy article. (p. 16).

Needed: Men of Action

The current political slogan is: "More solid work, less empty talk!" In all fields of endeavour, it is those ready to work in a down-to-earth way who are contributing the most to the socialist modernization drive (p. 5).

Navigation on Upper Changjiang

For the first time, passenger

ships sailing between Wuhan and Chongqing are passing through the newly constructed giant navigation locks on the Gezhouba hydroelectric project (p. 6).

Environmental Protection

A survey of the achievements and problems of China's battle against pollution (p. 12).

Vatican's Interference Censored

The Holy See's appointment of Deng Yiming as archbishop of Guangdong Province is condemned by Chinese Catholics as a grave infringement of their church's sovereignty (p. 7).

Why Banisadr Is Out

A review of the basic points of contention between the

former Iranian President and his opponents (p. 9).

Pakistan-Indian Relations

If India and Pakistan can settle their differences, it will help counter hegemonist expansion and safeguard South Asian and world peace (p. 10).



Man of action: Gu Sixiang, a Party member and a national model worker in charge of a blast furnace at the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company in Beijing, has made outstanding contributions for years running.

Photo by Sun Liansheng

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Economic Co-operation

How does China co-operate economically with the third world countries?

China has given and is still giving some economic aid to a number of third world countries. This includes the building of some engineering projects and the passing on of the techniques of planting rice, tobacco and tea. Of course, such aid is limited at present because of China's financial resources.

Various forms of economic co-operation with developed countries have been undertaken — from importing foreign funds and doing processing work with materials supplied by foreign firms to setting up joint ventures. There are also broad

prospects for co-operation with third world countries in Africa, South and Southeast Asia, Oceania and Latin America on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and supplying each other's needs.

For instance, joint ventures can be set up in some countries, with China providing the machinery and the necessary techniques. In countries with rich forest resources, timber mills and paper mills under joint management may be set up. As China has a fine tradition of carving and making bamboo and rattan articles, co-operation is possible with countries rich in these resources.

— *Economic Editor Jin Qi*

Small Plots for Private Use

Why is there an expansion of small plots of land for private use? Won't this weaken the collective economy of the people's communes?

In March this year, the Party Central Committee and the State Council decided that in rural areas where the system of fixing farm output quotas on the household basis has not been carried out, the small plots of land set aside for private use may be appropriately expanded, the limit being 15 per cent of the total cultivated area of a production team. Coupled with this, a small number of commune members may devote themselves to household sideline occupations or work on their private plots instead of taking part in collective production. This is an important new policy.

Aside from land under collective management, small plots are allocated to individual households for cultivation on a long-term basis. (The size of these plots is in proportion to the number of people in a family.) The peasants can grow what they like on their own plots; they don't have to pay any agricultural tax, and they may keep the products for their own use or sell them on the market. Similarly, commune members in the mountain areas or on the grasslands have under their own management small pieces of land or forest or a small number of livestock.

In the 10 tumultuous years of the "cultural revolution," the practice of allocating small plots of land for private use was abolished as "tails of capitalism." It was restored towards

the end of 1978, and the amount of such land made up 5-7 per cent of the entire cultivated land of a production team. This arrangement has been productive. Business at the rural fairs in the last few years has been brisk, and agricultural and sideline products are plentiful. The flourishing rural economy is due in a measure to the reallocation of small plots for private use. Concomitant with this, the peasants' income has increased and their livelihood improved.

According to investigations in a district in Shandong Province, the peasants can get an income of several hundred to 1,700 yuan from every *mu* of private plot they cultivate. This is an indication that the allocation of small plots of land for private cultivation is beneficial both to the rural collective economy and to the individual peasants. It is after summing up these experiences that the decision to expand private plots was taken.

Will such expansion weaken the collective economy?

Collective economy occupies the predominant position in China's rural areas. Even when the private plots are expanded to 15 per cent of the total cultivated area, land under collective management still makes up 85 per cent. This and the commune- and brigade-run industrial enterprises ensure that the dominant position of the collective economy is unaffected.

Collective economy and the individual economy of the commune members are not opposed to each other. The introduction of various systems of responsibility in production has improved the management of the collective economy. Better management means greater income

LETTERS

Calculation of Living Standards

You talked about the improvement of the livelihood of workers and peasants in your issue No. 8 (p. 8), but not the changes in prices of basic products. In my opinion, the prices of some goods have been raised.

The living standard is a concept which is difficult to express with figures. In France, we compare the changes in income of different social groups (such as workers, farmers and others) with the index of 180 commodities. These 180 kinds of commodities make up the biggest part of family expenditures.

Can you tell me how the Chinese people's standard of living is calculated?

Martine Monod-Broca
Paris, France

Indeed, the prices of some commodities in China did go up last year. But in calculating the living standards of the people, the factor of price rise was deducted. The cost of living index prepared by the State Statistical Bureau is a weighted figure including the retail prices of 450 kinds of goods and 50 different types of service costs.

According to our statistics, the cost of living index went up by 7.5 per cent last year. After deducting this factor, the real wage increase of the workers and staff members

was 6.1 per cent (for details see the section about the people's livelihood in "Communique on Fulfilment of China's 1980 National Economic Plan" in our issue No. 20). — Ed.

Capitalist Society

There is considerable indication that many of China's younger people have illusions about Western capitalism being a better road than is China's socialism by which to improve conditions among the people. Besides the pictures of homes, cars and clothes of middle-class and upper-class union workers of America, are the people of China regularly exposed to pictures of the far greater numbers of slum-dwellings, tenement houses, shacks, etc., of the millions of unemployed, retired on inadequate fixed incomes, share-croppers, Negroes, Mexicans, Indians, etc., etc., in almost every section of the U.S.A.? — And in Canada, but maybe, to a lesser degree?

James A. Foord
B.C., Canada

International Information

Whereas "The Libyan-Chadian Merger" article (issue No. 5) was well handled with a good conclusion, most articles in the "International" column are usually fairly narrated but left in suspense, with inadequate or no comment at all. Hence such questions like, "why, for what, how, to what extent, what next and for what reason," remain unapprehended and left to the reader to find out. To attain this in most cases, he or she refers to other papers and magazines which happen to report on the same issue. This is a

slump to our beloved *Beijing Review*.

Sorry, but I thought you would have had more on the subject "A New Start for Uganda" in your issue No. 52, 1980.

All in all I do enjoy *Beijing Review*.

Sammy Mwanje Katongole
Kampala, Uganda

Comments on "Opinion Digest"

The column "Opinion Digest" is also very important. Such articles like "On Bukharin's 'Economics of the Transition Period'" (issue No. 15) give me some knowledge about China's economy. So, I appreciate your improvement.

Kalabo Ngoie Jvonne
Lubudi, Zaïre

There have been much improvement in "Opinion Digest." But sometimes Western readers cannot catch the meaning of some subjects you elaborate on.

Generally speaking, cartoons are vivid and reflect the realities of the day, especially those exposing the gang of four.

Serge Creuze
Caen, France

I am very interested in the "Notes From the Editors" and "Opinion Digest." The two columns are an important supplement to other contents of *Beijing Review*. They are also helpful to us to have a better understanding of China's political attitude towards domestic and international affairs.

Wolfgang Jacobs
Dusseldorf, W. Germany

for the peasants, and poor management less income. Since the commune members now show concern both for their own small plots and for the land of the collective, the expansion of private plots in no way weakens the collective economy.

Moreover, after the introduction of various systems of responsibility in production, one-third of the rural labour

force can be diverted to other gainful occupations. With the adoption of modern production methods and increase in productivity, there will be still more surplus labour force. Both can be absorbed in cultivating private plots, developing sidelines and other purposes. All this will contribute to the consolidation and development of the collective economy.

Since the technical level,

management skill and diligence differ from peasant to peasant, it is only natural that some earn more than the others. But this is reasonable in the present stage of social development, and it differs in essence from the polarization resulting from the exploitation of man by man in capitalist society.

— Economic Editor
Wang Dacheng

POLITICAL

Deeds Rather Than Words

Bean-curd is a popular food in China. But in Harbin, capital of the major bean-producing province of Heilongjiang in the northeast, it used to be in short supply.

The scarcity puzzled Wang Chonglun, a national model worker who was recently appointed deputy secretary of the Harbin city Party committee. A skilled worker with rich experience gained at the grass-roots level, he made an on-the-spot investigation and organized technicians to improve and streamline the equipment. Before long, the situation on the market took a marked turn for the better.

A leading member of the C.P.C. Central Committee praised Wang Chonglun for his practical mind and solid work and called on the nation's 20 million cadres to learn from him.

After the convocation of the working conference of the C.P.C. Central Committee in December last year, the influence of "Leftist" thinking has been eliminated and the whole Party has become more united than ever. While initial results have been obtained, an equally important question remains to be solved, and that is to organize cadres and masses to work in a down-to-earth way in accordance with the Party's correct line.

Renmin Ribao and *Hongqi*, both organs of the Party, published commentaries exhorting cadres to do solid work,

saying that socialist modernization can neither be bought with money nor realized by engaging in empty talk, but can be accomplished only through hard work and self-reliance.

The papers criticized those who place their hope of modernization on the natural resources, thinking that once several big oilfields are discovered and modern techniques imported, the country will become rich and strong. China is rich in natural resources, but so far no oilfield big enough to cause a "shock" to the world has been discovered, and even if such an oilfield were found, it would not give every one of China's 1,000 million people 1,000 U.S. dollars. And whether in exploiting the resources or in mastering modern techniques and operating up-to-date equipment, large numbers of people well-versed in both politics and technology are needed.

Beginning from spring last year, a special column "Man of Action" was started in *Renmin*

Ribao. Readers have been greatly inspired by the deeds of workers, peasants, armymen, intellectuals and cadres who have made contributions to the modernization drive. One of them is Zhang Chengzhe, deputy chief mechanic of the Shenyang Foundry in northeast China. Nicknamed "Midnight Zhang" for often working late into the night, he has over the past 20 years solved many knotty technical problems for nearly 1,000 factories in the city and production teams on the outskirts.

Another "man of action" referred to for his meritorious deeds is 85-year-old Professor Chen Hansheng. His daughter once said with humour that her father wanted to do his best before he would face Karl Marx. Professor Chen is responsible for editing the manuscript relating to the history of foreign countries for the *Encyclopaedia Sinica* to be published next year. His book *Agrarian Regions of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*



Tang Jiarong (2nd from right), an engineer in Fujian Province's Xiamen (Amoy), working on a technical innovation with fellow workers.

in two volumes will be published in New Delhi this year.

Woman pilot Chang Ling was cited for her 1,500-hour safety flight and for having fulfilled emergency transportation missions during the counterattack against Vietnamese aggression. Others commended included a postman and a hairdresser.

After the downfall of the gang of four in 1976, two major discussions were conducted in China. One was about the criterion of truth, and the consensus was that the sole criterion is the practice of the masses, not the words of some leaders. This discussion helped the people rid themselves of blind faith and emancipate their minds. The other discussion was about the aim of socialist production. The prevailing opinion was that the primary task of economic work was to satisfy the needs of the people. This discussion has played a positive role in eliminating "Leftist" thinking and facilitating the readjustment of the economy.

The public is now called upon to display its revolutionary initiative as master of the country and to do solid work. The aim is to stress the human factor in the socialist modernization drive. The current slogan is: "More solid work, less empty talk."

Workers' Congress System

A national conference on democratic management of enterprises, held recently in Beijing, stressed that the system of workers' congress under the leadership of the Party committee should be popularized and improved so as to guarantee workers' participation in management.

So far, over 36,000 enterprises in various parts of the country

have established workers' congresses. This system has been introduced in 90 per cent of the large and medium-sized enterprises in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and other big industrial cities.

The conference stressed that this is a fundamental system for China's socialist enterprises and a basic form of democratic management. The workers' congress is an organ of power for their participation in management and supervision of the cadres.

Function and Power. The workers' congress has the power to examine and discuss major questions of production and management, decide on matters concerning the personal interests of the workers and staff members, and exercise supervision over the cadres. The practice of electing and recalling cadres will be gradually introduced. When the congress disagrees with any decision or instruction from the responsible department at a higher level, it has the right to make suggestions for changes. When the congress is not in session, the trade union acts as its standing organization. Participants in the recent conference agreed that with the readjustment of the national economy and reform of the economic system, the powers of the workers' congress should be gradually expanded.

A large number of enterprises have already elected, on a democratic basis, group leaders, section heads and workshop directors. About 1,000 have elected factory directors, managers and other administrative cadres. However, investigations made in some cities show that among the enterprises where the workers' congress has been set up, the system is working effectively in 25 per cent of

them, and in 60 per cent of the enterprises, the situation is only fairly good, while in 15 per cent of them, much remains to be improved.

ECONOMIC

Navigation Locks at Gezhouba in Operation

Navigation from Hankou on the middle reaches of the Changjiang River to Chongqing on the upper reaches resumed on June 27.

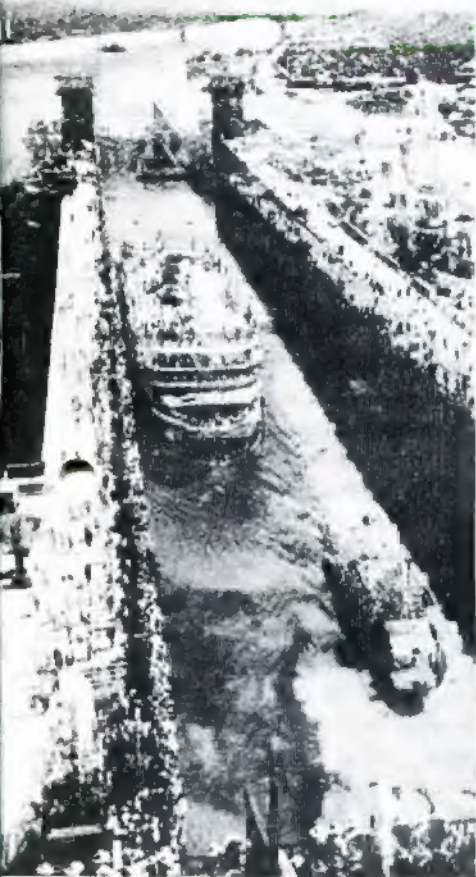
Traffic along this section of the Changjiang was cut off since the building of the cofferdam in November last year. The Gezhouba project, now being built for power generation and navigation, is the largest in China.

To ensure safety in navigation, an eight-day trial operation was carried out in mid-June in which various types of vessels including passenger steamers, tug boats, barges and rafts took part. Night navigation was also tried out.

Two locks were completed and put into trial operation. The larger lock is for ships of the 10,000-ton class, while the other one is for smaller vessels of the 3,000-ton class. A third lock is being built on the western section of the big dam across the river.

As the ships passed through the locks, the steel gates, including the biggest pair of gates larger than a basketball court each, swung open and closed smoothly. The gates and the water level in the lock chambers are automatically controlled.

Before the trial operation, a series of experiments by units in charge of the construction showed that all the equipment



A large passenger ship passing through the No. 2 lock.

and facilities were up to the designed requirements.

According to the Changjiang Navigation Administration, the first stage of the trial operation was carried out in a season when the river flow was around 20,000 cubic metres per second. The second-stage trial operation will be in the flood season when the flow increases to around 40,000 cubic metres per second.

The Changjiang, the third longest river in the world, is a major shipping artery of China, accounting for 80 per cent of the total volume of inland river cargo transport. The Gezhouba project, when completed, will

raise the water level along a 200-kilometre section of the famous Three Gorges upstream and submerge rocks and shoals on the river bed, thereby facilitating navigation along the river.

SOCIAL

Refuting the Vatican

"In disregard of the sovereignty of the Chinese Catholic church, the Holy See appointed Deng Yiming archbishop of Guangdong Province. This is illegal. We firmly oppose it."

This statement was made on June 11 by Yang Gaojian, a leading member of the China Catholic Bishop College. Yang is concurrently a leading member of the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association and the National Administrative Commission of the Chinese Catholic Church.

Deng Yiming was released from jail last year after he had shown repentance for his serious crime in subverting New China on instructions from the Vatican in the early 50s. The Chinese Government later approved his application to go to Xianggang (Hongkong) for medical treatment and to visit his relatives. Without any sense of dignity, the statement said, Deng Yiming went to Rome to receive the post of so-called archbishop. He also went to other places to engage in activities harmful to the dignity of the Chinese clergy and Chinese people, violating the principle of independence of the Chinese church.

The statement stressed that the Holy See's act constitutes a

grave infringement on the sovereignty of the Chinese church and therefore cannot be tolerated.

The statement went on to say: The Holy See has always adopted a hostile attitude towards the Chinese people, having resorted to various means to subvert and sabotage New China. To safeguard China's independence and dignity and to free themselves from the control of the Holy See, the Chinese clergy and congregation founded the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association in 1957 to run their church independently.

A leading member of the Bureau of Religious Affairs under the State Council on June 15 expressed his support for this statement and protested against the Vatican for interfering in China's internal affairs. Vice-chairman of the Guangdong branch Ye Yinyun and Bishop Zhang Jiashu, chairman of the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association, also issued statements refuting the Vatican for its hostility towards the Chinese people.

Catholicism was introduced to China in 1582 by the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci in the form of disseminating Western culture and science. But it was after the Opium War of 1840 that the number of Catholics rapidly increased. By 1949, on the eve of the founding of New China, there were around 3 million Catholics in China.

Celebration. On June 7, more than 100 Chinese Catholics in Beijing were confirmed in celebration of the feast of Pentecost at the Church of the Immaculate Conception. Bishop Fu Tieshan said: "Now we have

restored all the seven sacraments." It was the first time since the "cultural revolution" that so many believers had been confirmed. On the same day similar activities took place in the Church of St. Joseph. Altogether, several thousand Chinese and foreign Catholics attended the services at the two churches.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

China - Romania

Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei paid a friendly visit to China from June 15 to 22. His visit has contributed to the strengthening of fraternal relations between the two countries.

In his talks with Stefan Andrei, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua explained China's views on major world questions. He pointed out that the international situation is becoming increasingly turbulent because the hegemonists are energetically pushing their policies of aggression and expansion. He said that all peace-loving countries in the world should co-ordinate their policies and actions to resist the aggression and expansion of the imperialists and hegemonists.

Stefan Andrei said that the danger of war is growing and the world situation is becoming very complex and turbulent because the imperialists are pursuing a policy to divide spheres of influence and the energy and economic crises are aggravating. He expressed deep concern for the worsening world situation.

Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang met with the Romanian Foreign Minister on separate occasions. They expressed satisfaction at

the development of friendly co-operation between the two Parties and governments, and stressed that the furtherance of this friendship is in accord with the common interests of the two peoples and conducive to world peace and the independence of all countries.

Vice-Premier Gu Mu exchanged views with Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei on trade and economic co-operation.

More Vietnamese Provocations

Vietnamese troops have in June continued their provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border, intruded into Chinese territory, attacked frontier stations, killed and wounded Chinese frontier guards and inhabitants.

On June 1, the Vietnamese armed forces shelled Pingxiang, an important border town in China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. They shelled the railway station, destroyed civilian buildings and disrupted railway communication.



The town of Pingxiang used to be an important place from where China delivered its aid materials to Viet Nam. In 1973, the late Vietnamese President Ton Duc Thang awarded the workers of the Pingxiang railway station the title of "model of military exploits, first-class" and praised them for their help to the Vietnamese people in the fight against the U.S. aggressors and in socialist construction.

On June 10, the Vietnamese armed forces shelled a border village in Ningming County. The houses of 39 families, a school, several warehouses and cattle pens were levelled to the ground, killing one villager and wounding another.

These atrocities of the Vietnamese authorities have aroused the indignation of the Chinese people.



Border inhabitants denouncing the crimes of the Vietnamese armed forces.

A Troubled Iran

THE situation in Iran is deteriorating rapidly. On June 22, Iranian religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini dismissed Banisadr from the presidency. The day before, the Iranian parliament (Majlis) declared the President "politically incompetent." Three hours later, the revolutionary prosecutor-general ordered a nationwide hunt for the fugitive President and issued a warrant for his arrest. It is reported that Banisadr has not been seen in public since he returned to Teheran on June 11.

The chaotic situation is a reflection of the sharpening contradictions between the religious faction headed by the head of the Islamic Republican Party Chief Justice Mohammad Beheshti and President Banisadr's supporters.

The Majlis passed a bill on May 24 authorizing the government ministers concerned to recommend that the governor of the Central Bank and his deputy, the president of the Red Crescent Society, provincial governors and their appointments should be approved by the cabinet and some should be confirmed by the Majlis. The President alone used to exercise this power.

On May 31, Manuchehr Masudi, juridical adviser of the presidential bureau was arrested.

On June 6, the Majlis adopted a motion ordering the President to sign proposals passed by the Majlis within five days. If he didn't, then the Prime Minister had the authority to delegate someone else to do it.

On June 7, *Ingelab-Eslami* (a newspaper published by President Banisadr) and five other newspapers were ordered to close down. This prompted the President to declare that this was aimed at "imposing the evil rule of dictatorship and suppression of the people in revolt."

On June 9, a new bill approved by the Majlis stripped the President of power to hold up the appointment of leading officials.

The next day President Banisadr was dismissed by Ayatollah Khomeini from the post of commander-in-chief of the armed forces. On June 11, Banisadr was reported to have tendered his resignation.

After the presidency was surrounded by "revolutionary guards" on June 12, Banisadr supporters and foes have held demonstrations and counter-demonstrations. Clashes erupted in Teheran. Ayatollah Khomeini in a speech on June 15 said that President Banisadr should go and apologize to the nation and continue with his duties as President. But Banisadr in an open letter to Khomeini said: "I have no bad intention towards you or the country. I served the country in all sincerity," "I think your treatment towards me is not fair."

Main Differences

There have been many clashes between the opposing factions in the power struggle. The faction led by Mohammad Beheshti has most of the seats in the Majlis and has hold of executive, legislative and judi-

cial powers. This faction also has control of the "revolutionary guards" and courts and plenty of clout in cultural and news circles. The other faction headed by Banisadr has more popular backing. Banisadr was elected President by an overwhelming 70 per cent in January 1980, but his supporters hold only 40 of the 240 seats in the Majlis.

Between the two are sharp differences over these important issues:

— State power. Banisadr advocates an open democracy and a coalition government with representatives from the various forces. His opponents see coalition government as the product of Western democracy and hold that state power should be "one hundred per cent Islamized." They want a sweeping purge of all administrative organs, army units and schools.

— National economy. Banisadr wants to see Iran's economy rehabilitated and developed, while the other side sees revolution as a means to serve Islam, and "not to fill stomachs."

— Reorganizing the army. Banisadr wants the Iranian army to be composed of regular troops, while his opponents say that the army built up by the deposed Shah is not reliable and insist on expanding "revolutionary guards."

— Foreign policy. Khomeini's slogan is "Not West, not East, but Islam." Both groups accept this slogan, but they interpret it differently. Banisadr holds that Iran should safeguard its national independence, implement a neutral and non-aligned policy, without relying on either

of the two superpowers. He maintains that Iran should strengthen relations with third world countries and Western Europe and Japan and ease the tense relations with the United States. He sees the Soviet Union as the most serious threat. His opponents hold that Iran should oppose both superpowers, but designate the United States as the No. 1 enemy of Iran. They describe the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Teheran and the detaining of U.S. personnel as a "second revolution" and advocate Iran exporting its "Islamic revolution."

Immediately following the outbreak of war with Iraq, conflict between the two factions relaxed somewhat, but as the war dragged on the sharpness of the earlier struggles has reappeared.

Prospects

Khomeini, as the supreme authority in Iran, has consistently adopted a neutral attitude and stood above the struggle between the two groups. Some foreign news agencies point out that Khomeini has done a good job in holding the two factions in balance. He has not been willing to let the Moslem fundamentalists suffer nor has he allowed all power to fall into the hands of Beheshti's group. Khomeini is thoroughly acquainted with Banisadr's prestige. Whenever the struggle between the two groups became acute, Khomeini would step in to avert an open quarrel. But this time, Khomeini publicly warned Banisadr on June 8, without mentioning him by name, that he would meet the same fate as the Shah. Undoubtedly, this sealed Banisadr's fate.

Beheshti is reported to have said that if Banisadr cannot

carry out his duties as President, a three-person committee consisting of Beheshti, Hashemi Rafsanjani and Prime Minister Rajai would take over all presidential powers. On June 16, Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said that the debate on the President's "political competence" was the beginning of the "third revolution" in Iran. On June

20, hundreds of demonstrators were wounded and dozens died in clashes between supporters of the two factions. Fifteen of the President's supporters were executed the next day. What the outcome of this power struggle will be and how it will affect the situation in Iran remain to be seen.

— Lu Tong (June 23)

Improving Pakistan-India Relations

THE June 8-10 meeting of Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan in Islamabad is seen as a step towards easing the strained relations between the two countries. Several points in the joint press statement issued at the end of the talks are worth calling attention to.

- Both sides agreed that each country had the sovereign right to acquire arms for self-defence. In the past, one country obtaining arms by purchase or as military aid invariably unsettled the other. For example, the Indian Government protested vociferously when Pakistan approached Washington with the aim of acquiring U.S. weapons, when in fact Indian military strength far exceeds that of Pakistan. Pakistan had also repeatedly made it quite clear that it wanted some arms for completely defensive purposes and in no way did it constitute a threat to India. This time, at the talks, both sides defined the parameters of their defence acquisitions and agreed to remain in touch with each other.

- Both Pakistan and India reaffirmed their commitment to the Simla Agreement signed in 1972 by the Prime Ministers of the two countries, which stipulates that the two sides will realize the normalization of re-

lations between the two countries step by step and respect the control line established in Kashmir after the 1971 armed conflict. Although this agreement did not solve the Kashmir dispute, it helped maintain the status quo and prevented the situation from getting worse.

- With regard to Afghanistan, the two Foreign Ministers reaffirmed their adherence to the February 1981 declaration issued after the non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting in New Delhi. (The declaration called for a political settlement of the Afghanistan issue based on withdrawal of foreign troops.) India's refusal to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan earlier had put itself somewhat apart from the stand taken by South Asian and other third world countries.

Unanimity or approximation of stand on the above major issues has a vital bearing on developing the relations between Pakistan and India. But this does not mean that a breakthrough has been achieved in settling key differences between them, such as the Kashmir question. As Indian External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao said, not all the problems confronting them were solved. They solved the easier ones and left the more difficult ones for later.

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Pakistan and India moved closer to each other only after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and when the security of the South Asian countries was threatened. It was also against this background that the foreign secretaries of seven South Asian states (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) met together for

the first time in history, in April this year in Colombo, to discuss regional co-operation.

Ironing out differences and settling disputes improve unity and co-operation in the region. They will also help counter hegemonist expansionism and safeguard peace in South Asia and the world as a whole.

— Zhao Yi

West African States Strengthen Mutual Defence

A PROTOCOL on mutual assistance in defence was adopted in Freetown on May 29 at the end of the Sixth Summit Meeting of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). It reflects the strong aspirations of West African countries to help each other against outside interference and to ensure peace and security in the region.

Dealing With Outside Intervention

ECOWAS is the largest regional organization of economic co-operation in Africa. It consists of 16 West African countries embracing one-fifth of the African continent and one-third of its population. Formerly it was concerned solely with economic co-operation, but in recent years it has turned to embrace regional political and military co-operation as well. The situation calls for this development as there are grave outside threats to the independence and security of these countries. The civil war in Chad, the conflict in West Sahara and coups in rapid succession are all symptomatic of the growing turbulence on this continent.

Contradictions inside the various African countries and differences among them are being compounded by the intervention of countries outside the continent. The major factor contributing to African instability is superpower rivalry.

Recently, the old colonialists swept out of Africa by the tide

ECOWAS consists of Benin, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Upper Volta and Cape Verde.

of African independence some years earlier, have been trying to make a comeback. The United States is holding on to safeguard its vested interests in Africa. The Soviet hegemonists have stepped up their penetration, intervention and expansion in Africa to plunder its rich resources and to gain control of important strategic passages. Between 1975 and 1978, Moscow incited civil war in Angola, aggravated the war between Ethiopia and Somalia and twice dispatched mercenary troops against Zaïre. At present, there are over 40,000 Soviet and Cuban military personnel on African soil.

These grave threats from outside have forced many West African countries to realize how urgent it is to strengthen their collective defence and preserve stability and security. This, they see, is the primary condition for achieving political co-operation and economic and cultural development in West Africa.

Pan-African Defence

For the past two or three years, West African countries have been paying attention to strengthening their national defences and at the same time continually working to bring about collective military defence and establishing a regional or pan-African defence force. The Third ECOWAS Summit Meeting in Lagos in April 1978, adopted a draft treaty of mutual non-aggression, and decided to set up a special committee for

settling disputes among its member states. This was the first important step taken by ECOWAS to prevent external intervention.

At the Fourth ECOWAS Summit Meeting in Dakar in May 1979, the heads of state of West African countries discussed the proposal on the adoption of a protocol on mutual assistance in defence in West Africa. The proposal was put forward by the Presidents of Senegal and Togo and led to the decision to set up a technical committee at ministerial level to make a concrete

(Continued on p. 15.)

Environmental Protection in China

by Guo Huanxuan

CONCERN is growing for the pollution and destruction of China's beautiful natural environment and rich natural resources, which has occurred in the process of economic development. In September 1979, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress promulgated China's first draft Law of Environmental Protection. The authorities of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have since then enacted some concrete rules and regulations for environmental protection in accordance with the spirit of the law. Early this year, the State Council passed a Decision Concerning the Work of Environmental Protection in the Period of the Readjustment of the National Economy, calling on the various localities to handle environmental protection well, gradually control pollution and improve the environment.

Achievements

In the last two years, China has made some achievements in environmental protection.

Reducing Industrial Pollution. The oil industry has actively publicized new techniques for recycling waste-water. By the end of 1980, oil-fields throughout the country had built 78 waste-water treatment stations raising the rate of waste-water recycling from 40 per cent in 1977 to 76.4 per cent. Metallurgical industrial departments launched a massive campaign for multi-purpose utilization of materials. As a result, their enterprises turned out a total of 159 products, whose output value in 1980 was more than twice as great as that of 1976. In 1980, the country's nonferrous metal smelteries used their waste smoke and gas to turn out 800,000 tons of sulphuric acid, an increase of more than 300,000 tons over 1972.

Paper mills publicized their methods of retrieving alkali and using recycled water; leather tanneries made extensive use of the new technique of shedding by fermentation;

enterprises making synthetic fatty acids and synthetic detergents actively recovered mirabilite and fully utilized the previously wasted hydrochloric acid; battery factories expanded their production of non-mercury batteries; and sugar, wine and food industries registered good results in the full utilization of resources. All these measures have had a positive impact on reducing environmental pollution.

Progress has also been achieved in the key cities. The major air pollutants are sulphur dioxide and particulates released from burning coal. Many cities have improved their air pollution by altering the composition of fuels for public use, renovating boilers, achieving greater utilization of heat and retrieving flammable gases. In the winter of 1980, the amount of sulphur dioxide in the air over the urban areas of Lanzhou was already below the state standard and the dust content was 45 per cent less than what it had been in 1977. In Guilin, Suzhou and other scenic cities, resolute measures have been adopted to close down or relocate those factories which cause serious pollution and to commence dozens of pollution control projects. The environment has gradually improved and those gardens which had been damaged are now gradually being restored.

Another area of improvement is the water quality of some rivers, lakes and coastal seas. The Wuhan section of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River, the Jinan section of the Huanghe (Yellow) River and the Gaoyao section of the Zhujiang (Pearl) River as well as Taihu Lake have been put under the world water quality monitoring system of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Health Organization (WHO). According to data collected in 1980, they have not been seriously polluted and the quality of their water is comparatively good.

Progress has been made in the pollution control of some key rivers, lakes and seas. For instance, after many years' efforts, the Bohai and Huanghai (Yellow) Seas, which were once seriously polluted with oil, have met the water

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quality standards set for surface waters and will soon reach the standards for fishing. Marine life has begun to return to normal.

The water quality of Guanting Reservoir, which is situated to the northwest of Beijing and is one of the major water sources for the capital, deteriorated because of industrial water pollution. Since 1972 the departments concerned in Hebei, Shanxi, Beijing and Tianjin have joined together to curb the water pollution. Now, the water quality has begun to improve and the amounts of phenol, cyanogen, mercury, arsenic and chromium in the water all have been reduced, most well within the state standards set for drinking water. Fish and other marine life are thriving, and the people living near the reservoir who drink directly from it no longer suffer from headaches, stomach-aches and spells of lethargy.

Protection of Natural Resources. Since 1979, a large-scale afforestation movement has been launched in China's cities and rural areas. The state has allocated a considerable sum of funds to build three great shelter-forests in north, northeast and northwest China. By the end of last year, 2.61 million hectares of land had been afforested and an additional 370,000 hectares had been planted with saplings. Fishing resources in the seas are protected and are no longer declining.

Natural reserves have been established for some endangered animals and plants. For instance, natural reserves have been marked out in Shennongjia, Hubei Province, for the snub-nosed monkey and dove tree; in Hainan Island for gibbon; and in Wuyi Mountains in Fujian Province for the forests. Now, the country has a total of 75 natural reserves, 30 more than in 1978. The area they occupy has risen from 0.16 to 0.22 per cent of the nation's territory.

Nationwide Environmental Monitoring System. A nationwide environmental monitoring system has been established which will soon include 290 environmental monitoring stations. Preparations are under way to build a national environmental monitoring station. In addition, 16 monitoring stations and 145 monitoring points have been set up along the coasts. At every section of the Changjiang River and along its tributaries, a total of 172 monitoring stations has been built. Water quality monitoring stations have also been established along the Huanghe and Huaihe Rivers.

Environmental Pollution

The dust content in the air of 57 cities surveyed in 1979, surpassed the levels set by the state, with the amount in 28 cities, three times higher. Though the annual rate of sulphur dioxide in the air is on an average below the state standards, in winter, when the heat is on, it surpasses the level stipulated by the state in most cities. Statistics collected in the monitoring of 82 rivers and river sections also show that 45 have been polluted by one or more poisonous substances.

Soil erosion and the expansion of the desert caused by irrational land reclamation, deforestation and the opening up of grassland for crop-growing have not been completely stopped. In the last 15 years, the desert areas in the country have increased by 27,000 square kilometres and one-sixth of the country's territory, that is, 1.5 million square kilometres, has been affected by soil erosion. One-seventh of the grasslands in north China has been either turned into desert, or salinized and degenerated. As the ecological equilibrium has been undermined, weather, water and soil conditions in many places have obviously worsened and natural disasters increased, thus bringing enormous damage to the development of the national economy and the well-being of the people.

The major reason for the pollution of the environment and the destruction of natural resources is that, in the past, our economic construction was influenced by "Leftist" ideas, not enough attention was paid to bringing into play the superiority of the socialist planned economy, and the relationship between economic development and environmental protection was not well co-ordinated. In our efforts to expand production, we one-sidedly sought quick results on a short term basis, forcefully exploited the natural resources and neglected the replenishing and regenerating of resources. In capital construction, we only paid attention to the principal projects, overlooking the construction of installations for preventing pollution and the damage these projects might cause to the environment. In addition, our lack of knowledge and experience in maintaining ecological equilibrium was a contributing reason for the disproportionate relationship between economic development and environmental protection.

Secondly, we lagged behind in economic management, science and technology. The utilization rate of materials in many production processes is low. For instance, the utilization

rate of energy in China is less than 30 per cent, whereas the consumption of water for many products is several, even several dozen times higher than in advanced countries. More waste materials are released as a result and the effective contents of chemical pesticides and fertilizers are low. An example is the effectiveness of the widely used benzene hexachloride (BHC) which is 14-15 per cent; the rest of it, which is poisonous to man and animals, is wasted. So pollution from pesticides is an important problem in environmental protection.

Thirdly, the public utilities in cities are inadequate. There are a small number of cities in China which have their own thermal power stations, gasworks and waste-water and garbage treatment centres. In addition, there are inadequate sewers in some cities. With the growing urban population and expansion of urban areas, the problems of air and water pollution by human excrement and urine, waste-water, garbage and smoke released from residential coal stoves have become increasingly serious.

More efforts are needed to solve environmental problems resulting from previous economic construction and to prevent new problems in the future. Apart from the necessary administrative methods, we need to allocate more funds. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the advanced industrial countries have allocated 1 per cent of their gross national product to curb environmental pollution, and in a number of countries this figure has reached 2-2.5 per cent. The present amount of funds used in our country to control pollution and protect the environment is far below this level. Because China's economy is backward and many projects need to be undertaken, for the time being, we cannot appropriate much for this purpose. Therefore, we must proceed from our actual conditions, do what is possible and make every effort to do things well whenever conditions permit.

Gradual Control

During the period of national economic readjustment, the main task in environmental protection is to gradually curb environmental contamination and halt the destruction of the natural resources, so as to safeguard people's health. These efforts should be carried out in a planned way in co-ordination with the policies and measures of economic readjustment.

First, in the current readjustment of industry, the construction of some factories should

be prohibited. They include those which cause pollution, waste energy and resources, are irrationally located, and have not implemented measures to control their pollution. Enterprises located in residential areas, protected areas with water resources and scenic spots, and without effective control of their pollution should be closed down and overhauled. In the last few years, nearly 200 factories or workshops in Beijing changed their products or moved to new sites. More factories will follow suit.

Pollution also comes from such trades as electroplating, casting, heat treatment and plate-making for printing. Their operations usually are scattered and involve a great deal of manual work. During the readjustment these jobs will be done in specialized plants in a concentrated way, thereby raising labour productivity and curbing pollution more effectively.

As to industries run by neighbourhoods or by rural people's communes and brigades, they are encouraged to develop non-polluting or low polluting industries for the needs of the city residents or for agriculture. High polluting industries such as chemical or pulp plants are not encouraged. Those enterprises under neighbourhoods or the rural communes and brigades which process products for big or medium-sized factories will not be allowed to operate unless adequate pollution controls are established.

Secondly, the environment of major cities and scenic spots should be protected. As environmental protection is a huge problem which cannot be tackled overnight, efforts should be first made to solve the major ones, such as protecting key cities and scenic spots. It is expected that within a short period, marked changes will occur in Beijing's environment. Measures are also being taken to protect such scenic cities as Hangzhou, Suzhou and Guilin from pollution. Similar steps will be implemented in other cities in co-ordination with city planning.

Beginning this year, provinces and municipalities are making greater investments in environmental protection. Take Shanghai for instance. Funds appropriated for treating wastes in 1981 are 3.2 times higher than in 1980. Sixty-nine projects are under way to treat poisonous or seriously polluted water, recover and treat dust, waste gas and slag and to check noise pollution.

Thirdly, pollution controls should be integrated with the technical reform of enterprises and the multi-purpose use of resources. As

Chinese industry and agriculture are not highly developed, large amounts of contaminated wastes are discharged into the environment. This is mainly caused by a low rate of utility and a tremendous waste of materials. Many precious resources are discharged before they are fully utilized, harming the environment. Therefore, pollution controls are a major concern for many industrial and mining enterprises in their campaigns to increase production and practise economy, and they serve as a norm to judge the quality of production management. Improving the rate of utility of energy and water resources and metals in China would have a positive impact on pollution.

Fourthly, the natural environment should be protected. An agricultural regional committee was set up not long ago to study the agricultural natural resources and the division of agricultural regions in China. Its studies will provide a scientific basis for the rational utilization of resources and for developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fishery according to the local conditions. At present, the foremost task is to check the damage done to water and land resources and forests. Efforts should be made to maintain an ecological equilibrium in exploiting and using rivers, lakes and underground waters. We are going to set up and expand various types of natural reserves. In this way, China's natural ecological system, the native haunts of rare wild animals and origins of precious plants,

major archaeological premises and famous scenic spots will be adequately protected.

Fifthly, environmental management should be improved and sound environmental laws should be devised. Investigations show that pollution in China, whether from wastes discharged by enterprises or the irrational distribution of industries, is largely due to improper management. Consequently, environmental management has been given priority in the work of protecting the environment in the last few years. Laws and regulations are being worked out to protect seas, atmosphere and water, to control noise pollution and to guide capital construction projects. In some cities, pollution has been checked to a certain extent by fining those enterprises which discharge wastes.

Sixthly, a propaganda campaign to inform the public about the importance of environmental protection should be intensified. In 1980 and the spring of 1981, nationwide publicity movements were launched. They disseminated scientific knowledge to the public about the relations between environmental protection and modernization, between production and life on the one hand and ecology on the other hand, the harm of pollution on people's health and ways to prevent pollution. In Beijing, Jinan, Shanghai, Xian and Suzhou, environment supervision groups or supervisors function under neighbourhood residents' committees, which check pollution in nearby enterprises. □

(Continued from p. 11.)

study of the contents of the defence protocol.

The Fifth ECOWAS Summit Meeting in Lome in May 1980, decided that the special ministerial committee, formed by Togo, Nigeria, Senegal and five other member states, should be responsible for drawing up a draft protocol on mutual assistance in defence, which would serve as a necessary supplement to the non-aggression treaty and as the foundation of principles for collective defence and security in this area.

Note must be taken that in May 1978, when Soviet and Cuban mercenary troops in-

vaded Zaire for the second time, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Togo and some other African countries immediately sent a pan-African peace-keeping force to Shaba to reinforce the Moroccan troops there. It was a clear demonstration of African determination and its capability of realizing collective defence and preserving the peace, security and stability of the continent.

A Positive Factor

The efforts made by the West African countries and the progress attained in realizing collective defence have played a positive role in encouraging and promoting military co-operation in other African regions. Pres-

ident Omar Bongo of Gabon has pointed out that West Africa has set an example for central Africa, which also needs a similar defence agreement. At each of the annual summit conferences of the O.A.U., from 1978 to 1980, the issue of establishing a pan-African defence force was discussed.

The protocol on mutual assistance in defence adopted at the last ECOWAS summit is considered by observers as another step forward in the struggle against foreign interference and for peace and security in the region.

— Xin Zhong

Nature of Chinese Society Today

by Feng Wenbin

The following is the third and final part of an abridged translation of "Carrying Out Conscientiously the Line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and Marching Forward Along the Road of Scientific Socialism" by Feng Wenbin, Vice-President of the Party School of the C.P.C. Central Committee. Boldfaces are ours. The first two parts of the article appeared in issues Nos. 23 and 25.

The third part states that in adhering to the socialist road, China should neither violate the fundamental principles of scientific socialism nor mechanically copy what is printed in books. The fundamental principles of Marxism must be combined with China's concrete conditions and practice. — Ed.

Carrying Out the Line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee

SINCE the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 1978, the Party Central Committee, following the principles of integrating theory with practice and seeking truth from facts as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought teaches us, has summed up its experiences and corrected its "Left" mistakes. Applying the fundamental principles of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions of our country, it has put forward a correct line, principles and policies, which have brought various areas of our work back to the path of scientific socialism and achieved great successes on all fronts.

In *Our Programme* (1899), Lenin pointed out: Marx's theory "provides only generally guiding principles, which in particular, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany and in Germany differently than in Russia." To adhere to the socialist road, we should neither violate the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, nor can we mechanically copy what is said in books. We must integrate the funda-

mental principles of Marxism-Leninism with our concrete national conditions and practice.

In our country, particular attention should be paid to these conditions:

Our country's socialist society has emerged from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society with underdeveloped capitalism. The backward state of our economy, culture and science has still not been basically changed though so many tremendous results have been achieved in our socialist economic and cultural construction that an independent and comparatively comprehensive industrial system and an integrated national economy have been built. The traditional influence of the small production's management style, the force of habits and feudalism are still very extensive and deep-rooted.

China has a vast expanse of land, but is mostly covered with mountains, waters and grasslands. By comparison, its arable land is rather limited, and particularly so when the amount of arable land per person is considered.

China abounds in natural resources; however, they have not been fully explored or effectively utilized.

Of the 1,000 million people in China, 80 per cent are peasants, and agriculture, which is operated mainly by hand, still makes up a large proportion of the national economy. Moreover, the natural conditions vary tremendously among different regions and nationalities and the level of their economic development is uneven.

In regard to the question of how to integrate the fundamental principles of scientific socialism with the concrete practice of our country in the course of building socialism, the documents of the Party's Eighth National Congress (1956) and Comrade Mao Zedong's writings such as *On the Ten Major Relationships* (1956) and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* (1957) have brought forward many correct ideas. The line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of

the 11th Party Central Committee have revived and further developed these thoughts, pointing out how to open up a road of socialist construction that suits our conditions.

1. Readjusting the National Economy. Considering the comparatively backward conditions of our country's economy and science, we must, on the one hand, develop the social productive forces as quickly as possible and build a powerful socialist material foundation; on the other hand, we must proceed from what is actually possible, paying attention to practical results and advancing step by step. The first important strategic decision made by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was to shift the focus of our Party's work to socialist modernization. Simultaneously, in view of the serious imbalance in the proportionate relations of the different sectors of the national economy caused by the long-term influence of the "Left" guiding thought, it was decided to readjust the whole national economy. Fundamentally speaking, readjustment means to readjust the structure of the national economy comprehensively, reorganize industry rationally and, by integrating readjustment with reorganization, rationalize the economic structure. Only in this way can our socialist modernization cause advance healthily and steadily.

2. Multiple Forms of Public Ownership. In our country, the productive forces have not developed in a balanced way and a modern large-scale industry exists along with a backward agriculture which is operated basically by manual labour. Besides, sectors of industry and communications and transport are still dominated by handicrafts and other small-scale operations. This condition requires us to introduce multiple forms of public ownership. Since the Third Plenary Session, the Party has corrected the mistake of being impatient for transforming the relations of production and the erroneous viewpoint that the higher the level of the public ownership is, the better. It has been clearly pointed out that we must adopt many forms of public ownership coupled with certain necessary supplementary forms. Furthermore, on condition that the state economy and collective economy occupy a dominant position, a certain number of urban and rural individual enterprises as well as joint ventures with foreign investment should be permitted.

3. Developing Commodity Economy. Since our commodity economy is underdeveloped and our level of socialized production is not high, it

is important to develop our commodity economy in a big way. Some claim that developing the commodity economy will lead to capitalism. This thinking is erroneous. The socialist commodity economy differs fundamentally from the capitalist one in that labour power is no longer a commodity and therefore the relationship of exploitation has been done away with. Under the socialist system, the state firmly controls the economic lifeline and the main economic levers. Under such conditions, the anarchic state of capitalist commodity economy will not appear, to say nothing of the emergence of capitalism. In socialist society, the commodity economy develops in a planned way. As for the system of economic management, the socialist economy combines planning with market regulation and, under the guidance of a unified plan, gives full play to the role of market forces. Only the development of a socialist commodity economy makes it possible to combine the state's material interests with those of collectives and individuals, to mobilize all positive factors, to speed up the accumulation and turnover of funds, to accelerate the expansion of reproduction and the development of the whole social productive forces and thus to ensure that the socialist economy prospers. Since the Third Plenary Session, on the basis of summing up historical experiences, the Party Central Committee has adopted the principle of developing a socialist commodity economy and integrating planning with market regulation. Marked results have been achieved since this principle was put into practice, which proves that it corresponds with the objective laws of the development of a socialist economy.

4. Adaptability and Flexibility in Agricultural Management. Because our country is vast, has a backward economy with work in the collective economy mainly done by hand, and is limited by its natural conditions, greater adaptability and flexibility are needed for managing agricultural production. Since the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee has carried out and readjusted a series of rural economic policies. These include respect for the right of production teams to make their own decisions, the raising of purchasing prices for agricultural and sideline products, the readjusting of the amounts of these products to be delivered and sold to the state and the policies on taxation and loans. The size of private plots has been increased, support has been given to household sideline occupations and rural fairs are no longer banned. The system of responsibility in pro-

duction, such as fixing output quotas for each special line of production, and basing payment on production (including fixing farm output quotas for each group, or every able-bodied labourer or each household), has been popularized to improve the ways of payment. These policies and measures which have greatly mobilized the peasants' initiative for production have played a positive role in promoting the restoration and development of agricultural production. Simultaneously, we have rid ourselves of the narrow idea of looking at the limited amount of arable land without considering the potential of the other land and just stressing grain crops without seeing the broad prospects for a diversified economy. Efforts have been made to reform the traditional agricultural structure and distribution of production, build up a diversified economy according to the conditions of various localities, develop a socialist rural commodity economy and apply modern science and technology to our country's concrete conditions. The development of the diversified and commodity economy and the application of science and technology in the rural areas will promote an all-round development of our agricultural production, increase social wealth, the peasants' income and the accumulation of funds and help to rationally use the surplus agricultural labour force. This is a strategic measure for bringing about a prosperous rural economy.

Here, I would like to particularly discuss the question of fixing farm output quotas for each household which, as a form of management, suits those scattered, backward and remote mountain villages and some production teams which have, for a long time, failed to run their collective economy well and have had huge difficulties. It is practised on the basis of the public ownership of land and other chief means of production and is a form of the system of responsibility in production. There is no exploitation, because the buying, selling or leasing of land or the hiring of labourers are banned. It will in the future develop in the direction of socialization as the productive forces are restored and developed and agricultural science and technology (including farm machinery) are applied.

5. Bringing the Role of Small Towns Into Play. We should take the fact that 80 per cent of our population reside in rural areas as our starting point while drawing up a long-term plan for developing our economy, politics, culture, education and science. All the major developed countries in the world today have

experienced a course of modernization in which a surplus labour force poured into the big cities, resulting in overcrowded metropolitan areas, increased crimes, serious pollution and other social ills. In the process of advancing our country's modernization, the Party Central Committee pointed out, we should try to avoid such problems and gradually bring the role of the country's more than 50,000 small towns into play. With the development of a diversified economy, commodity production and commodity exchanges in the rural areas, these small towns will gradually become rural political, economic and cultural centres. This developmental strategy will help combine our country's human resources with natural resources, and agriculture, industry and commerce with the undertakings of culture, education and science. It is conducive to the rational distribution of our population and economy and to narrowing the gaps between town and countryside and between industry and agriculture.

6. Self-Reliance Supplemented by Necessary Importation. In line with our nation's poor economic foundation and the backward condition of science and technology, we have, since the Third Plenary Session, imported necessary advanced techniques, facilities and foreign funds while persisting in the principle of relying mainly on our own efforts in construction. We have emphasized relying on our own manpower, material resources, financial capacity and natural resources to develop the social productive forces and attached particular importance to realizing modernization by tapping the potential of existing enterprises and reforming them and by making use of the existing machinery, equipment and technical forces. At the same time, facts have proved that supplementing self-reliance with necessary importation can speed up the development of our social productive forces and is indispensable and beneficial to our socialist modernization. Some comrades are worried that introducing foreign funds and setting up joint ventures with foreign investment will lead us off the socialist road. Such a concern is unnecessary. Importing some foreign funds and allowing joint ventures (in the special economic zones there are also a small number of enterprises run totally with foreign funds) is conducive to mastering modern science and technology, learning modern management methods and training managerial, scientific and technical personnel. Socialist construction in a backward country like ours needs

such enterprises and they will not lead us to capitalism. The joint ventures serve as a type of aid to our socialist construction; they are controlled by our country and are organized according to law on the condition that our country's sovereignty will not be endangered. The cost we pay for them is to accept certain degrees of capitalist exploitation which calls up what Lenin said when Russia was carrying out the policy of "concession" during the new economic policy period: "Not only will the payment of a heavier tribute to state capitalism not ruin us, it will lead us to socialism by the surest road" (*The Tax in Kind*, 1921).

7. Building an Intellectual Civilization and Developing Human Resources. Our country's backward culture, education, science and technology suffered serious sabotage during the "cultural revolution" which caused a temporary shortage of young people capable of taking over the posts of their elders in national construction. This is out of step with the four modernizations. Without a highly developed culture, education, science and technology, it is impossible to build an advanced socialist material and intellectual civilization. Since the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee, while attaching great importance to building a socialist material civilization, has set out to establish a socialist intellectual civilization and put stress on educating and training people. On the one hand, efforts have been made to reopen and develop institutions of higher learning, gradually popularize secondary school education, promote secondary technical school education, professional education and adult education, and reform the present educational system so that the opening of schools and specialities may better serve the needs of economic and social development. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that a socialist intellectual civilization should be built under the guidance of communist ideology. Political and ideological work should be strengthened and improved, especially the ideological education of the youth which is aimed at arming them with the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and communist morality. To help our young people establish noble communist ideals and moral integrity is an indispensable part of socialist intellectual civilization; it is of decisive significance to the building of material and intellectual socialist civilization and to our country's future.

8. Improving Democracy and Legality. During the "cultural revolution," the Party's

democratic life and socialist democracy and legality were seriously disrupted. This left us with a great number of forged, falsified and wrongly handled cases, which have been redressed since the Third Plenary Session. At the same time, a great deal of work has been done to achieve a high degree of socialist democracy. This includes the drawing up of the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life and a series of laws, and energetic efforts to revive and carry forward the Party's fine traditions and restore and improve socialist democracy and legality.

Since the Third Plenary Session, the people throughout the country, guided by the correct line of the Party Central Committee, have adhered to the four fundamental principles (adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist road and the Party leadership), corrected the "Left" mistakes, overcome the historical disasters caused by the counter-revolutionary sabotage of Lin Biao and the gang of four and achieved the widely recognized great progress on the economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and diplomatic fronts.

About the socialist society, Marx's following remark deserves conscientious study: "What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges" (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*). Marxism never regarded socialist society as a pure society but stated that the "birth marks of the old society" would certainly exist. These old vestiges can only be eliminated step by step on the basis of highly developed productive forces in socialist society. Another noteworthy point is that countries which are relatively less developed economically and culturally will have more of such "birth marks." Trying to eliminate them before conditions are ripe will harm the productive forces. Our practice since the Third Plenary Session has proved, and will continue to prove, that to adapt the relations of production and management system to the present state of our country's productive forces not only helps speed up their development but also will provide conditions for improving our socialist system and advancing it to a higher stage. □



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